//[illegible] room.//

The disturbance in the Parmentiga was smaller than the one in the Xingu town. Moreover, the order of the community seemed scarcely disrupted. Old Captain Caetano, probably over his eighties, despite his black hair, //[illegible]// had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, on the instigation of the Nambicuara expedition, which, with the help of the Beiseîê, had crossed the Parmentiga and passed through a section of the aldeia /settlement, see the glossary, p. 175// in a northerly direction. The Beiseîê, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own. Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by smallpox /measles/, an epidemic disease, the Brazilians put on all the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians' account, as the bane of the forest, they had always run into the town.

At the time of our visit the Beiseîê population was made up of five men, five women, three children -- our permit were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two French women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajabí women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luiz and a certain Manin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

Luiz, who had lived an adventurous life, a "pilcuaçu," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions, he chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words. "ene mêmo" -- "nimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão mêmo." Luiz maintained that Caetano was the son of a Beiseîê father and

[Cajibí = Cayabi, A Tribe classified under SPZ Africa in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/120 cont./

A gente. -- A boy Kinon (parents dead).
Luis (Italian), Maria (Brazilian) with wife Caetana (Portuguese) and child.

I could not express enough about the fortunate circumstance that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Xuruena. Even with the intelligent fregüesia it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Beiradão language, but with Captain Vilino, who did nothing but rest conventedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe occupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rails of tacuara /bamboo, see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buriti /see the glossary, p. 170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacuara covered with buriti leaves. There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall imuna posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of amarú wood (also cunhão de pancas). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de pancas, the two longitudinal beams guaranduí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams timbó, peuva, cacháo, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-/126/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, tipe and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather. It was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú.

[Cf. GLOSSARY ON P. 170 --Analyst]

2. Census — map 6, D-5 (1854, 1857-1859) (the 12th Bororo)

/ 1972 cont. /

127 from March 13, 1972, in Cuiabá. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-13 in 1948, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,000 to 8870. On the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-18 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 The Bakairí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained them-
[171] selves in their two poor villages, they were occasionally visited
● [164] by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mas-
sacre and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished for
[159] reasons the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /70/
often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of
plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and so
drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

173 I made an effort to learn more details about the history of
[115] the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor
Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of
more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a
shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the
175 131 169 361 Xingu of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the
present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio das
Garças coming from the left, the West Bakairí, at least since the middle
of the previous century, have occupied the border area between
the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where
the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão
Caiabo there were more than six villages, there was a large vil-
lage on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakairí
took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous centu
according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world whe
the Rio Beija-flor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga
[177] village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year 1887 on my journey to the Rio Kuluene. He too was already very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Dorfles Lopes Post I met with highly unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the last to reach Dorfles Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries and by Possos. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Isáias Saverdra, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coronado had had his aldea before, and thus 23 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paresíndigo Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Ribeirão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 2) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paresíndigo (Rio Teles Pires) and had relations with the Dorfles Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far both the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí. Pires, whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Lucio, who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kuluene, who with Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

Smithsonian--61 E-6 (1965, 1967-1971) Ethn NPI Bakairi NPI

/For text /

tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post like their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

We know through Ferreira that the high mortality of the Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the care of the Inspetoria do Francisco no Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fewer are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent W. Ferreira, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Ferreira, syphilis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

## II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

Bakairi: 27
Pará Geral 28

a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give aborigines the indication that they were and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bound to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of each groups of the native population as rapidly as possible.

The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, when they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly, and plants his foods.

In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, because of the improved methods, and this may account for the lowered resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the headwaters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kulueru who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fevers upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyaba, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Iaperiwiwa has been brought back as curiosities to the Kuluene. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The bags (work) that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluene. It is claimed that no proper clay cement be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluene.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fiber the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluene. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the head-rester, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluene, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.